

Interview with Ceylon Trotskyist MP

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Militant Fund At 50% Mark But Still Lags

By George Lavan

\$1,379 was received by the Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund during the seven-day span ending Nov. 11. This puts our scoreboard at the half-way mark to the \$18,000 goal. But this still represents a lag in schedule of 14% or 12½ weeks. (See Scoreboard, page 2.)

Along with a payment from Newark, which since the beginning has occupied an on-or-ahead of schedule place on our scoreboard, comes a note from local fund director J. Skivari: "We had an election social last Saturday night . . . it was very successful. We had a few people more than usually and we made a few dollars. One dollar admission included fried chicken, garlic bread, salad and coffee. We plan to have a Militant social in a few weeks. . . ." Supporters of the Militant in Newark not only know how to pay like clockwork, but from the menu submitted have learned how to beat the high-cost-of-living. Militant readers in that area take note.

From St. Louis, which this week tops the scoreboard, comes a payment and letter saying: "We had an excellent meeting on Nov. 3 regarding regroupment and had a good attendance." Attending were people associated with the SWP, CP and Social-Democrats. Plans

were laid for a follow-up meeting.

As advertisements in this paper have announced, Los Angeles has its Militant Anniversary celebration Nov. 15. Also being planned in L.A. is a bazaar — date still to be announced. In New York, too, there is great bustle and lugging-in of things for a forthcoming, super-duper bargain bazaar.

A gratifying number of contributions from individual readers has begun to come in from such diverse places as Baltimore, Bangor, Maine, and Ottawa, Canada (\$10 plus a note: "Good luck. I wish this could be more"). For those who are collectors of interesting place names here are a few of the towns so far heard from: Tomahawk, Wisconsin; Vashon, Washington; Saugerties, N.Y.; Anaheim, Cal.; Granite Falls, Minnesota; Greensburgh, Penna.; Avondale, Georgia; Lloydminster, Alberta, Canada; Birmingham, Washington; Irwin, Penna.; Corning, N.Y.; Whittier, Cal.; Plentywood, Montana.



Kutcher Urges Parole For Winston and Green

A hearing on the applications for parole of Henry Winston and Gilbert Green, the last remaining Smith Act prisoners, was scheduled for Nov. 13. Numerous defenders of civil liberties have urged the parole board to act favorably on the applications of these two imprisoned Communist Party leaders.

Among those is James Kucher, the legless veteran who successfully fought a ten-year battle against the witch hunters because of his avowed membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Kutcher recently addressed the following letter to the U.S. Board of Paroles in Washington, D.C.:

"I write to urge your favorable action on the applications for parole of Henry Winston, imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana, and Gilbert Green, imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas."

"The cases of these two men are of great concern to all who are conscious of the need to defend America's seriously imperiled civil liberties. Though it is officially maintained that there are no political prisoners in the United States, world opinion — embracing that of most Americans familiar with the history of the case, including, I may add, myself — regard Winston and Green as political prisoners pure and simple.

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THE MILITANT

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Depression, Anti-Union Offensive Trounce GOP

How Ohio Scab Bill Was Swamped

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Nov. 11—Don't underestimate the workers!

That was the major lesson of the Ohio election for the industrialists, the capitalist party politicians — and the labor bureaucrats.

Faced with a clear-cut class issue, a proposal to write the union-busting "right-to-work" amendment into the state constitution, Ohio workers closed ranks. They organized and led an independent political crusade that defeated the measure by a margin of almost a million votes.

COMPARE THE MARGINS

Nobody but the workers can claim credit for the victory. The Democratic "landslide" was an incidental effect, not a cause of the defeat of RTW. Final election returns from the state's 12,960 polling places showed:

Right-to-Work Amendment (Issue No. 2):

No	2,007,291
Yes	1,080,266
Margin	927,025

Governor:

DiSalle (D)	1,887,926
O'Neill (R)	1,427,469
Margin	460,457

U.S. Senator:

Young (D)	1,669,022
Bricker (R)	1,504,197
Margin	164,825

Anthony J. Disantis, labor editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the paper that spearheaded the drive of the "right-to-work" business interests, wrote in the Nov. 6 issue:

"Ohio voters rejected the 'right-to-work' proposal by the biggest margin ever recorded on an issue on the ballot in the state's history."

He pointed out that the vote for the measure was only 35% of the total cast and that "RTW carried only 18 of the state's 88 counties, all agricultural, and then only by slim margins." In industrial centers the measure "was swamped under a virtual tidal wave of votes churned up against the issue by organized labor and its friends."

IT WAS DIFFERENT THIS TIME

In the course of the campaign labor was constantly needed by RTW advocates like the Plain Dealer editors with its two outstanding political defeats in recent years: its campaigns to beat Sen. Taft in 1950 and to expand the state unemployment insurance program by a referendum vote in 1955.

Political "experts" failed, however, to note the differences between those campaigns and the one just concluded. The campaign against Taft offered no alternative but a vote for Democrats, whom the workers do not trust either. The 1955 campaign was conducted by a

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All Youngstown Labor Rallied Against 'Right-to-Work' Bill

By Moses Peterson

YOUNGSTOWN — Ohio was the decisive battleground for "Right-to-Work" legislation. Ohio is the second industrial state in the U.S. In cities like Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Columbus, Dayton, Akron, Canton and Youngstown there lies a truly massive industrial complex. Despite the great social weight of the industrial working class in Ohio, the political representation in the state has been reactionary. Consequently, the "Right-to-Work" supporters entered the Ohio battle supremely confident.

They had in back of them six months of anti-union agitation conducted by the McClellan Committee. After six months of corruption charges in screaming headlines, the employer forces felt that the brainwashing job was complete — to them the enthusiastic response of their

own number plus the constant drum beating by the press, radio and television had the appearance of a real mass movement. But they did not reckon with the effects of the depression — or at any rate, they incorrectly gauged them. The 1957-58 depression has in some way touched every working-class family in Ohio. Who did the workers blame for their troubles? The corporations or the unions? The outcome of the "Right-to-Work" fight would clearly provide the answer.

POLITICAL CLASS BATTLE

However, long before election day, the hatred toward Ohio's governor O'Neill, the GOP and the corporations began to make itself felt. As a result the sensitive political machines of the Catholic Church and of the Democratic Party aligned themselves with the workers and against "Right to Work." These outfits wanted not only to re-

tain their influence in the labor movement but to avoid a political class struggle. But as the working people lined up solidly against RTW, such a struggle could not be avoided.

Here, in the steel city of Youngstown, active trade-unionists found their fellow workers deeply stirred by the "Right-to-Work" issue. Unemployed workers in angry outbursts pledged to vote "No." They added that they wanted to get off the compensation lines — a clear warning that they expected the unions to fight the depression.

Pensioners turned out in big numbers. At one precinct, an aged Negro woman hobbled painfully into the booth, clutching the union literature and loudly stating, "I want to vote No, that's all, just vote No." Even school children were affected and showed up in school

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London Strikers Fight New Boss Attack

By Farrell Dobbs

A bitter strike struggle going on at the Shell Mex building site in London forecasts a nation-wide employer offensive against British labor. Union militants, alert to the danger, are organizing a national rank-and-file conference to discuss defensive measures.

Both events are sowing panic among labor bureaucrats who have forgotten how to fight the bosses, just as they have largely forgotten what life is like for workers on the job.

The Shell Mex strikers are led by their job stewards. Arrayed against them are the McAlpine construction monopoly, police, capitalist newspapers and right-wing union officials.

FIGHT VICTIMIZATIONS

Over a month ago McAlpine fired all 1,250 building trades workers on the Shell Mex site to weed out "troublemakers." This brutal act brought to a head a systematic policy of victimizing trade unionists. It was against this policy that the

stewards had been fighting. When top union officials gave no sign of acting in defense of the workers the stewards took the lead in picketing the job.

McAlpine's next action showed the "troublemakers" in question to be stewards. A rehiring policy was announced but reinstatement was refused to stewards on the site before the mass firing took place.

The strike continued and mounted police were called in to clear a path for scabs. Strikers resisting the attack on their picket lines were arrested. Some face the threat of jail terms.

In this situation top officials of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers ordered the strikers to "maintain and defend union agreements" — by scabbing on themselves.

The union's executive council said ". . . there is no dispute members for employment."

ATTACK ON NEWSLETTER

Accusing the strikers of "usurping the functions of the

But Democrats Won't Meet Workers' Needs

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The American labor movement won an important victory in the Nov. 4 national elections when it smashed Big Business attempts to pass anti-labor legislation under the guise of "right-to-work" propositions in five out of six states.

At the same time the Republican party suffered a serious defeat. Its losses exceeded most Republican fears. Almost all the Republicans whose names had been associated most closely with the witch hunt and hostility to labor were dumped into political limbo, including Presidential aspirant, Senate Republican leader, William Knowland.

In 1956 the Republican Party won the presidency with a majority of nine million. Within two years it was discarded like an old, smelly shoe. Four million unemployed, virtually ignored by the Republicans, plus anti-labor provocations ended six years of Republican power.

'Simply Disintegrated'

The Democrats will control the next Congress with a majority of 62-34 in the Senate and a majority of 281-153 in the House of Representatives. In addition Republicans were left with only 15 governors after reducing the Democrats to close to that number in 1952.

As the Wall Street Journal editors put it, Nov. 6, "There's no use in mincing words. The Republican party has simply disintegrated and the wreckage is strewn across three thousand miles of countryside."

The voters who went to the polls last week expressed clearly what they don't want. They don't want recessions and job insecurity. They don't want anti-labor laws. The Democratic Party's victory in large part was a manifestation of this protest vote.

New York apparently resisted the national trend. In actuality, however, it underlined the fact that issues, more than parties, were at stake. Long before Nov. 4 it was clear that billionaire Nelson Rockefeller, Republican candidate for governor, was challenging the Democrats on their own ground — with a concerted drive for support from labor. He out-New-Dealed the Democrats in his promises for better times ahead. He denounced the "right-to-work" propositions, promised stronger rent controls, more health protection, a fight against a subway fare increase, for "traveling" pensions, etc. Democratic Governor Averell Harriman could only stand on his miserable record.

A Disgusted Republican

A writer for the Wall Street Journal, Nov. 6, reported that Rockefeller had gone so far "to the left," that one disgusted New York Republican said, "I went into the voting booth and there was nothing on the ballot but three socialists—I voted for the one who was running on the Socialist ticket."

Election returns in the last decade have demonstrated clearly that the American voter is restless, shifting from one of the two capitalist parties to the other in a frustrating attempt to make his feelings known. In 1948 the Democrats won. But in 1952, with the Korean war raging, the voters put the Republicans in office. Two years later

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Newsletter happens to be the current scapegoat."

Opening The Newsletter's columns to rank-and-file unionists appears to have been welcomed by the British labor movement at other than official levels.

Many workers are writing about their grievances, discussing issues of labor policy and helping to distribute this paper which they have some reason to feel is their own.

The wildcat strikes plot is alleged to be "the first big move by a group of Trotskyists — mostly ex-Communists still committed to revolutionary activities — to test their growing power over rank-and-file workers."

An editorial reply in The Newsletter states: "The Shell Mex workers themselves decided to struggle without interference or advice from The Newsletter. Once they took that decision, we deemed it our duty to help them in their fight . . . and have given space to the stewards to state their case in our columns in their own way."

"When workers resist," the editorial adds, "it is usual to howl 'trouble makers.' The

(Continued on Page 2)

Newsletter happens to be the current scapegoat."

How "Worker" Views the N.Y. Election Returns

By Harry Ring

According to the post-election editorial comment in the Nov. 8 Worker, it looks as though the Communist Party was left holding the bag with its New York gubernatorial choice, Averell Harriman. The Worker complains that the AFL-CIO failed to mount an active campaign for Harriman; he was "knifed" by the DeSapio machine; Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the N.Y. Post, yanked the rug from under him with a last-minute withdrawal of her paper's endorsement; and finally, on election eve, A. A. Berle of the Liberal Party declared it would be "no tragedy" whenever the election went.

It was "this stupidity and downright doublecreek on the Democratic side," says the Worker, coupled with Rockefeller's strategem of running as a "liberal," that cost Harriman the election. And, it adds, "the division in the people's movement of N.Y. was made worse by the appearance of a newly-formed Independent Socialist Party that separated a sizable section of the left and influenced many away from the labor-liberal movement as a whole."

DIFFERENT TUNE

This post-mortem on Harriman's defeat has little relation to what the Worker said prior to November 4. Then the big argument advanced by the CP leaders for refusing to support the ISP was that the Rockefeller-Harriman contest represented a struggle between the forces of monopoly and a "broad peoples" movement led by a labor-liberal coalition. In view of this claimed lineup, they argued, it was necessary to get into the Harriman "people's" camp in order to influence it on "issues."

The Worker also insisted that, to present a socialist ticket in opposition to Harriman and Rockefeller would bring down the wrath of the ranks of labor and the Negro people who were depicted as concerned above all else with defeating Rockefeller.

What did the CP accomplish in the campaign? Its declared central objective was to inject the issues of jobs, peace and rights into the campaign. Since it campaigned in support of the Labor-Liberal coalition behind Harriman, it must be assumed that its efforts were directed

...Winston-Green Case

(Continued from Page 1) arbitration upon their families and upon themselves.

"In view of the foregoing and of the commendable tradition of normally granting parole to first-offenders in federal prisons, the denial of parole to Winston and Green can only, and will only, be interpreted as a continuation of the political persecution which originally led to their indictment and imprisonment."

In addition to the campaign urging parole, there have been many appeals directed to President Eisenhower asking him to amnesty Winston and Green. A letter urging Presidential clemency was addressed to Eisenhower on Sept. 23 by 34 prominent figures including Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste, Alexander Meiklejohn, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dr. John Lapp, Rev. John Paul Jones, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Aubrey Williams, Howard Fast, Kermit Eby, Stanley Isaacs, Maynard Krueger and Rev. John Haynes Holmes.

"In view of these facts, I respectfully urge you to exercise executive clemency in these two cases."

Calendar of Events

NEW YORK
The Militant Labor Forum announces a lecture by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein on "POETRY AND POLITICS — The Romantic Revolution in Literature — The French Revolution and the Romantic Writers." Sunday, Nov. 23, 8 P.M., 116 University Place. Contrib.—\$1. Refreshments.

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein announces two short pre-holiday courses.

MONDAYS, 8-10 P.M.

Five Generations of Youth in Revolt

Nov. 18: Bohemian Rebellion in Chicago & Greenwich Village before 1914.

Nov. 25: The "Lost generation" after World War I.

Dec. 2: Art for criticism's sake — our academic "new critics and writers."

Dec. 9: The Beat Generation, The Angry Young Men & Existentialism. \$1.50 single lecture. \$1.00 series of four.

CHICAGO

Thanksgiving Banquet and Militant 30th Anniversary Celebration. Dinner at 6 P.M., Sat. Nov. 22, 777 W. Adams St. Contrib.—\$2.00. Write for reservations or phone DE 2-9736.

Unemployment and the Nov. 4 Vote

By Daniel Roberts

The depression was the principal factor in the Democratic electoral tide on Nov. 4. Most analysts are agreed about that. The 1953-54 recession brought the first swing back from the Republicans' 1952 victory. The depression of 1957-58 brought a Democratic landslide.

One TV commentator I heard explained the huge Democratic plurality this year as follows: The working people were angry over unemployment, he said, after having acquired the habit of full employment over a number of years. This is accurate, I think. The prolonged boom permitted many working people to acquire a few comforts of life — home, automobile, and appliances — by going into debt. Payments were based on steady employment often including more than one member of the family working and including overtime. The workers' standard of life was thus geared to steady work with little margin to spare. Unemployment quickly brought foreclosure or repossession (or the threat of it), wiping out the gains of previous years.

THE TOTAL PICTURE

The number of people affect-

ed by the depression was far greater than would be indicated by the five-and-a-half million peak unemployment officially admitted. Even if a more accurate estimate of seven million unemployed is used, this still does not tell the whole story. Last spring the U.S. Census Bureau said that "Our projection indicates unemployment will average 5,000,000 [at roughout 1958] but that will mean 20,000,000 seeking jobs at one time or another and getting sharp income cuts through fault of their own."

On Aug. 12, Peter Edson, a nationally syndicated writer, reported that "There have been from 13 to 15 million Americans unemployed part time during the last ten months. About 11 million of them have been unemployed five weeks or more."

The Michigan University Center last summer revealed that one in four families suffered heavy economic loss through unemployment or shortened work hours from mid-1957 through mid-1958.

Those working people not themselves hit by the depression saw relatives, friends or neighbors go under. Hopes for

marriage were blighted. The crime rate increased, involving people who never had a police record before and who acted out of economic desperation. The racial minorities were severely afflicted by loss of jobs.

Unemployment compensation averaged \$31 nationally per week. An untold number of jobless exhausted their benefits. About one third of the unemployed were ineligible for compensation at any time and were forced on public assistance. Unemployed rehiring lagged behind the recovery, and unemployment remains heavy to this day.

All this fed the anger of the working people against the Republican Administration. But there was one more crucial factor. The working people, in my opinion, do not accept unemployment any longer as inevitable. They resent it most deeply because they believe the government can prevent it.

They believe furthermore that it is the responsibility of the government to guarantee full employment. The source of this belief is the record of government intervention in economic affairs ("statism") that began with the New Deal and is most prominently associated in the workers' minds with the Democratic Party.

VOTE IS MANDATE

The Republican Administration — the Big Business administration in the eyes of most working people — was blamed for callousness in the face of popular misery. It was denounced as unwilling to spend or otherwise act on behalf of the people's welfare. Working people voted for the Democrats with a mandate that they do something about jobs. In the case of Nelson Rockefeller in New York, many workers voted for him because his demagogic had impressed them with the idea that he would respond to the needs of the working man.

There is profound truth as well as illusion in the conviction of the American workers that the government can eliminate depression. Socialists must relate themselves to both the truth and the illusion. What is correct is that society can, through the workings of government, assure economic security and well-being. But it requires a socialist government



Detroit was one of the first cities in the country to be hit by the slump. Long lines were forming in Unemployment Compensation Offices as shown above over a year ago. Despite some re-hiring by the auto plants nearly 20% of Detroit's workers are still unemployed.

...London Strike Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

sponsors say they expect many CP members to attend on their own initiative.

Announcement of the conference brought a second ultimatum from the Building Trade Workers executive council: "... any member associated with the calling of, or attending, the conference, or distributing, selling, or taking into any branch room unofficial propaganda sheets and publicity material, shall be liable to expulsion from membership in the union." Other union bureaucrats are urged by the capitalist press to take similar action.

Replying to attacks misrepresenting the conference aims, Brian Behan, a building trades striker and member of The Newsletter editorial board, wrote: "We are not going to discuss the setting-up of any kind of independent, breakaway bodies. We are for militants remaining within the established trade union organizations and fighting to see that the trade unions carry out the job they were founded for: the defense of members' conditions."

URGES VISITORS
An editorial adds: "We invite branches whose unions have proscribed the Conference to send visitors, so that they can see for themselves that the Conference is no 'wildcat' affair, but a gathering of workers seriously concerned to find a constructive solution to their problems at a time when unemployment is growing by 30,000 a month."

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
American labor will also do well to watch the work of the British conference. Close parallels exist between the rank-and-file movements in the two countries. If anything, the British workers are somewhat ahead in the fight for union democracy and an effective union policy. The American workers can learn important lessons from them.



House Speaker Sam Rayburn (right), and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson are shown celebrating their 1956 election victory with Mrs. Johnson. Liberal Democrats in the new Congress are preparing to accept the leadership of these two Southern Conservatives.

...Attacks on Labor Beat GOP

(Continued from Page 1)

the Democrats won again—thanks to the recession of 1954. In 1956 Eisenhower was re-elected overwhelmingly, but simultaneously checked with another Democratic Congress. The Democratic sweep last week made Eisenhower the first president in U.S. history to get an oppositional congress in three consecutive elections.

On top of the political unrest, caused by the recession, inflation and a continued threat of war, Big Business aggravated the crisis faced by the Republican Party by pressing its long and carefully prepared plans for anti-labor laws. The McClellan committee's investigations into corruption in the labor movement were designed primarily to create an atmosphere hostile to labor and conducive to passage of restrictive legislation. Big Business hoped with this publicity and an expensive professional campaign to gather the votes necessary to pass "right-to-work" propositions in industrial states.

The Republican party, in addition to championing the "right-to-work" laws, also attempted to label their Democratic opposition "socialist." No less an authority than the President of the United States expressed the views that Democrats were dominated by "radicals" and their victory would start the country "down the road to socialism."

What Big Business Fears

Of course this charge was ridiculous. Yet it was based on a certain tortured logic. The Democrats are programmatically almost identical to the Republicans. But they depend for their mass support on a coalition with the labor bureaucracy. Big Business fears the participation of the organized labor movement in politics. The industrialists sense, with keen class consciousness, that one of these days, they will face the power of a labor movement no longer subordinated to the Democratic machine but acting as an independent class force. This prospect explains their charge of "socialist menace."

The charge of "socialism" in this election played the role it did in anticipation of the struggle to come. For socialism is the only means of achieving both peace and full employment.

The political unrest that was manifest Nov. 4 can only grow until the workers, the Negroes, small farmers and others find the means to fight for their own political interests. The workers cannot express their real needs except in distorted form in the old two-party system because it is actually one party—one party of Big Business with its Democratic face traditionally appealing to the workers for support and its Republican face traditionally seeking to ignore the workers. The collapse of the Republican party in this election only demonstrates how outmoded its old style is.

Next Week:

A roundup of the 1958 socialist vote. The meaning of the 1958 socialist election campaigns. Tasks and perspectives for the socialist movement in light of the elections.

it ever has been. And yet, paradoxically, the hold of the Democratic party also seems less stable than was the appeal of the New Deal—and therefore more susceptible to quick overturn."

The crisis of capitalism has made it impossible for either party to meet the demands of the American workers. What the majority of voters want is full employment, an end to inflation, and an end to the fear of war.

But capitalism cannot provide both peace and full employment. Capitalism has managed to maintain an expanding economy, with only occasional economic breakdown, by means of war and preparations for war. But this answer to the economic crisis of capitalism puts pressure on the workers in a different way. It squeezes living standards with inflation and taxes. And eventually it also fails to provide job security despite mounting budgets.

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Labor Makes Demands

In addition to the independent political strength of labor was demonstrated despite its general burial under Democratic victories. The labor bureaucrats felt it and followed their victory with renewed demands for enforcement of the Full Employment Act, and revision of the Taft-Hartley Act—demands that fell on deaf ears in the last Democratic-controlled Congress.

But the working people who have been frustrated in their desire for both peace and security, will not long be satisfied with begging for favors; nor will they be intimidated with charges of "socialism." Pressure for independent political action with labor's own party, its own candidates and its own program for solving the domestic and international crisis will increase. The collapse of the Republican party merely foreshadows the collapse of the Democrats. It also foreshadows the emergence of a labor party and mass political struggles for socialism.

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 80	\$ 70	88
Chicago	1,000	716	72
Newark	265	190	72
Buffalo	1,500	1,050	70
Boston	450	300	67
Milwaukee	250	155	62
San Diego	300	180	60
Twin Cities	1,742	1,006	58
Allentown	112	60	54
New York	4,500	2,230	50
Youngstown	300	150	50
Detroit	600	284	47
Cleveland	750	340	45
Connecticut	300	105	35
Los Angeles	4,600	1,529	33
Philadelphia	528	162	31
Seattle	550	136	25
Oakland	300	65	22
San Francisco	440	90	20
Denver	50	—	—
Pittsburgh	10	—	—
South	200	—	—
General	—	244	—
Total through Nov. 11	\$18,827	\$9,062	50

Advertisement

Advertisement

A Special Buy!

Literature and Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

\$1.98

Written in 1924, this is a Marxist classic. It deals with the attitude of the working class and its party to art and artists after conquest of state power.

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Monday, November 17, 1958

Why So Meek and Mild?

The Nov. 4 elections resulted in overwhelming victory for labor-backed Democratic Party candidates, defeat for such notorious reactionaries as Knowland in California and Bricker in Ohio, and defeat of the misnamed Right-to-Work law in five of the six states where it was on the ballot.

Organized workers backed up their leaders on the issue of defending the unions against governmental restrictions. More than that, they mandated the labor leaders by the massiveness of their vote to get some pro-labor benefits from the politician "friends of labor" they elected.

The increase of liberal Democrats in Congress, and even a liberalizing of the Republican minority, gives labor a golden opportunity to insist upon the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. All unions in this country have been on record for that repeal since T-H was enacted in 1947.

Why then is the demand for the repeal of this most vicious, union-busting law nowhere in the 10-point legislative goal announced by AFL-CIO President George Meany since the elections? This mild 10-point program asks but one thing on Taft-Hartley — removal of the section permitting states to enact Right-to-Scab laws. Other sections such as those restricting labor's basic weapon — the right to strike and to picket — are not mentioned, let alone the demand for outright repeal of the whole law.

Another of the AFL-CIO legislative aims is passage of a "moderate" version of the Kennedy-Ives bill, which had Meany's endorsement in the last Congress where happily it failed to pass. A "moderate" version, the labor leaders hope, would curb racketeering without curbing legitimate rights of the unions. The labor bureaucrats know full well that any legislation giving the government a lever inside the unions is in itself a danger and that laws which may start

out ostensibly against labor-racketeers can end up being enforced by reactionaries for whom all union activities are "racketeering." This AFL-CIO proposal is offered as a compromise after passage of which the smear investigation of Senator McClellan's (D-Ark.) committee into unions would be called off.

The labor leaders are not asking for more after the great liberal Democratic election sweep because they know the real nature of those who have been elected. The mildness of the AFL-CIO legislative program is an adaptation to the incoming liberal Congress. It speaks volumes about the true nature of the "friends of labor" so loudly touted by the union chieftains.

Consider a few of them: Senator Kennedy (D-Mass.) was a member of the McClellan investigating committee and drew up the bill which labor now wants "moderated." Clair Engle, newly elected Democratic Senator from California, while in the House voted for the Taft-Hartley law as well as other anti-labor legislation. Democratic governors-elect, Edmund P. Brown of California and Michael V. DiSalle of Ohio, both made it plain during their campaigns that while they were against the "Right-to-Work" laws on the ballots in their states they were in favor of some other type of legislation dealing with unions.

The meager list of labor's aims submitted by AFL-CIO President Meany is certainly not a reflection of the massive sentiment displayed at the polls by the working people. That sentiment deserves better than it got and than it will get from Congress and the state officials elected. That sentiment could truly be served by the unions taking steps to found a Labor Party which would put in office representatives directly responsible to the labor movement and to its unwatertight program.

Workers' Democracy in Unions

The Big Business conspiracy to "sell" the American public the idea that unionism and racketeering are synonymous reached a crescendo this past year. Involved in the carefully coordinated campaign were 99% of the "free" press of this country, Senator McClellan's investigating committee, the NAM, Chamber of Commerce and Right-to-Work propaganda outfits.

But the organized workers realized that the Right-to-Work laws, despite the propaganda about undemocratic unions and corruption, were aimed at unionism itself. Some middle-class people and farmers were taken in by the Big Business propaganda but the workers overwhelmingly knew what the score was and voted accordingly.

This doesn't mean that workers are unconcerned about lack of democracy and corruption in their unions. On the contrary they feel very keenly about it. The revelations of bare-faced swindling, stealing, rigged elections, denial of rights, sweetheart agreements, and other sell-outs angered all good union men, and

made them ashamed at the public disgrace American labor was being subjected to.

But as their votes against "Right-to-Work" showed, they did not fall for farming out to the employers' organizations and the politicians the job of democratizing and cleaning up the unions. That is a job for labor's rank-and-file to do.

Corruption is not the half of it. For corruption to thrive in a union, democratic control by the members must have previously been lost. Sell-outs are possible only where the ranks have lost power to reject contracts.

The anti-labor chorus will continue its deafening noise. McClellan will be back at his old stand. The Right-to-Work outfit announce a renewed campaign for this coming year. And the Big Business press is always with us.

Out of self-protection unionists must democratize and clean up their unions.

Furthermore, this will give them reinvigorated, militant organizations, responsive to the membership's desires for the full benefits of unionism.

The Hardening Lines

Arthur J. Goldberg, Special Counsel of the AFL-CIO, in a recent speech at the University of Wisconsin declared that the attitudes of labor and management are hardening into patterns of hostility to each other. He pointed to the growing number of charges of unfair practices brought before the NLRB, and the bitter recriminations of the recent election campaign as evidence of this. "Politically, legally, philosophically, labor and management stand today apart, and the degree of polarization of view points in these areas is far greater than in collective bargaining," he said.

This labor spokesman said he did not know the cause of this estrangement, but did not believe it was economic. He scoffed at those businessmen who charge that labor is determined to socialize America, and also at those workers who accuse Big Business of seeking a fascist dictatorship.

His solution to class hostility is to set up a Labor-Management Assembly patterned on the UN. Here union and business representatives "must be drawn together under circumstances in which they will have no alternative but to talk; and when they are through talking, they should talk some more."

Any worker who has sat at a bargaining table or voted on a contract would dispute Goldberg's contention that economics is not at the root of labor-man-

agement hostility. He would point out that hardening of attitudes is most apparent at the time when economic conditions make concessions to labor more expensive.

Endless talking will not wipe out the economic contradictions inherent in the profit system. You cannot talk the capitalist out of his profits. The arm-in-arm tour of United Steel Worker President McDonald with Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel Corporation did not soften management's attitude in contract negotiations the following year.

Few union leaders, unfortunately, are seeking a socialist goal for labor, but the iron necessities of the economic struggle will inexorably push the working class in the direction of that solution. And, despite Goldberg's scoffing, the capitalists will try to counter that threat by imposing a fascist dictatorship.

Goldberg's thesis reflects the fears of the Meany's and Reuthers that the harsh realities of the class struggle will disturb them in their bureaucratic sinecures. They want to plead with Big Business to be more reasonable.

What labor needs is not a leadership that will try to talk the capitalists out of their hostility to the working class, but leaders who will organize and steel the workers to meet the offensive of Big Business on the picket line and in the political arena.

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Interview With Ceylonese Trotskyist MP

An Asian Revolutionist



ROBERT GUNAWARDENA

[Robert Gunawardena, a member of the Central Committee of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Trotskyist) of Ceylon and a member of Parliament, recently passed through New York returning from the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, held this year in Brazil, where he was part of the delegation representing the Parliament of Ceylon, Thomas Kerr, Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, used the opportunity to get the following interview from Comrade Gunawardena.]

Q. What is the character of the present government in Ceylon? Is it by a single party or a coalition?

A. It is a coalition with hardly any political program. It represents capitalist interests — and very reactionary ones.

Q. Reactionary in what sense?

A. Reactionary in the communal sense. And special anti-working class legislation has been brought up at times to curb strikes.

Q. Have they used considerable violence in the curbing of strikes by workers?

A. They are trying. But as yet the government has failed on that front, except once against the middle-class employees of the government. That is the white-collar sections — they are the elite. Temporarily, for a few days, till we intervened, they were doomed.

Q. How much representation does the Lanka Sama Samaja Party have in Parliament?

A. We have 14 party members represented in the Opposition.

Q. What is the total membership of Parliament?

A. Ninety-five elected, six nominated [i.e. appointed] by the government. That is 101 in Parliament.

TRADE UNION STRENGTH

Q. Does the LSSP have much strength in the trade union movement in Ceylon?

A. The LSSP at present leads the major part of the working class in Ceylon, except in the plantations. Particularly in the government sector [of the economy], which is organized under a special federation — the Government Workers Federation — the leadership is exercised by the LSSP, our party. Because in every union in the government sector a large number of party comrades

are in leadership, and in the private sector — smaller commercial firms, and factories, textile, oil installations — we have quite a large number of trade unions. They are in the Ceylon Federation of Labor, which is led by our party.

Q. What about agricultural workers?

A. That is mainly in the tea and rubber plantations. There are two strong communal unions led by the communists.

[Communism is the inciting of communities — based on race, religion or language — against other communities within the country, as has been done between Hindus and Moslems in India.] Their membership is 42,000 in the plantations. But when a direct struggle is launched, we find that even in the areas where we are not very strong there is a tendency of workers from these communal controlled unions to flow into our unions.

Q. What is the population of Ceylon?

A. Nine million.

Q. What is the total strength

of the organized workers?

A. About 350,000. The majority are in the communal unions on the plantations.

Q. The relationship of forces, then, so far as actual numerical strength is concerned, is with the plantation workers?

A. Yes.

LACK INDUSTRY

Q. You do not have any large industries?

A. Except for the plantation industries, tea and rubber, no.

Q. What about the dock workers?

A. The dock workers are completely organized now under our party leadership, in an organization known as the United Port Workers Union, in which we have quite a large number of comrades working in the dock section.

TROTSKYIST PARTY

Q. Now the LSSP is known as the Trotskyist Party of Ceylon, is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. There have recently been articles in the N.Y. Times and other American newspapers about Ceylon, speaking of Philip Gunawardena, who I understand

stand is the Minister of Agriculture in the present government, describing him as a Trotskyist. Is it true that Philip Gunawardena represents the Trotskyist position in Ceylon?

A. Philip Gunawardena does not represent the Trotskyist position in Ceylon. Since 1951 he has betrayed the revolutionary movement and crossed over to the capitalist government. He joined the reactionary government of Mr. Bandaranaike.

Q. What then is the basis for these newspaper designations of him as a Trotskyist?

A. He was one of the founding members of the LSSP. But during the unification of the Trotskyist group — the LSSP and the Bolsheviks — in this party, he opposed the unification and left the party. That was in 1951. Since then he has played an independent role, describing himself as a Trotskyist organization and fighting the LSSP. He has a small group . . . on chauvinist lines, particularly on the language question. He took a policy of Sinhalese only. That brought him a certain percentage of back-

They are permitted only to vote separately for spokesmen selected by the ruling white capitalist parties. As for the Negroes, the overwhelming majority in the country who outnumber the whites four to one, they are completely disfranchised.

The white rulers of South Africa are not slowing their drive against the aspirations of the Africans. The government has outlawed mixed unions and is deporting Negroes now living in the cities into rural areas. Similar measures loom for all non-whites; for example, Indians living in Johannesburg are being pressured to move to Lenasia, some 18 miles out of town. Only Witwatersrand and Cape Town University still have non-white students — and these a mere handful. Against the determined opposition of the universities, the government is rushing through legislation to restrict non-whites to segregated, government-controlled institutions.

Yet the days of white-supremacist special privileges at the expense of the exploited and downtrodden Negroes of South Africa are numbered. A glimmering of this may account for the sensitivity to symbolism of the Pretoria City Council upon the death of late Prime Minister J. G. Strijdom. When the councilmen realized his grave was being dug by Negro laborers, they quickly sent in a crew of white replacements.

Q. What is the position of the LSSP on the communal issue?

A. Right through, the LSSP has been in the forefront of the fight to remove these bases. Through all working-class organizations that agitation was developed by us. In the peasant areas where the party held meetings it was taken up.

Q. What is the position of the LSSP on the communal issue?

A. Right through any form of communalism. By explaining to the general mass of the people that communalism will lead us more and more into isolation in our own country and thereby even partitioning our country — like Pakistan and India — which the general mass of the people don't want.

(Next installment: The visits by invitation of Ceylon's Trotskyist leaders to China and the USSR.)

So. Africa Women Fight Jim Crow Rules

By John Black

A new wave of struggle against Apartheid, the racial-segregation system of the Union of South Africa, has culminated in the arrest of thousands of African women. A fight against the discriminatory pass books, obligatory for all Africans under the Jim-Crow law of South Africa, was provoked by a campaign of arbitrary arrests of women entering the city of Johannesburg on the way to their places of employment. Although the law has been on the books for years, it had not been applied to women for fear of driving white Johannesburg of domestic and other employees.

On Oct. 30, some 133 women went on trial on the charge of congregating at the pass office and failing to disperse when ordered to do so. This gathering was a protest against the arrests. Police witnesses reported that the women "shouted and cheered and refused to leave" when warned they would be arrested. "When vehicles arrived to take them away, they boarded them with eagerness and a display of pleasure." The police quoted the women as shouting: "We don't want your pass books — we want freedom."

After the opening day of the trial, tear gas and clubs were used on the crowd of African men and women outside the court house. This political violence, which led to injuries took place when the crowd cheered and gave the salute of the African liberation movement, the uplifted thumb. At another court 300 more women were on trial and the movement to abolish the hated pass system is still gaining momentum.

MASS TRIAL

The South African government's latest assault on the status of the African population comes hard on the heels of a setback sustained by Prime Minister Verwoerd's regime, the collapse of the mass trial of anti-Apartheid leaders. On Oct. 13, the government was forced to drop the indictment in this two-year-old trial.

Goldberg's thesis reflects the fears of the Meany's and Reuthers that the harsh realities of the class struggle will disturb them in their bureaucratic sinecures. They want to plead with Big Business to be more reasonable.

What labor needs is not a leadership that will try to talk the capitalists out of their hostility to the working class, but leaders who will organize and steel the workers to meet the offensive of Big Business on the picket line and in the political arena.



South African Negro women, like those shown above giving the salute of the African liberation movement in the 1952 civil disobedience campaign, are today militantly resisting imposition of the hated pass system on them. Over 400 have been arrested.

ranging in occupation from professor to bus driver. The charge was high treason and violation of the Suppression of Communism Act, South Africa's version of the Smith Act. The alleged offense was the signing of the Freedom Charter. This charter, sponsored by a Congress of the People, demands racial equality in South Africa and the transfer of the banks and basic industries to "the ownership of the people."

Preliminary hearings lasted over a year and piled up three million words of typescript before the government felt ready for trial. It began this past January, running into snag after snag. Finally 45 of the accused were discharged. Another start, with slightly altered charges, began in August but soon bogged down. Erwin H. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School, who observed part of the trial came to the conclusion that "no real evidence has been presented."

HOW RACISTS WON ELECTION

This reversal follows the election victory won by the Nationalist Party. The gain in seats — it now holds 103 out of 160 — was achieved without a majority of the popular vote. It came through the most shameless gerrymandering of constituencies. The Nationalists, strong in the rural areas, were aided by the apportioning of more seats for fewer votes, often half that of the urban constituencies.

A Hero's Welcome

By Ethel Bloch

Maurice Ruddick and six of his workmates were entombed for eight and a half days in the Cumberland mine in Nova Scotia. Trapped in the total darkness and dampness, a mile beneath the earth's surface, Mr. Ruddick, a remarkable man, lifted the spirits of his companions by singing throughout the whole ordeal, in spite of parched lips and swollen tongue. For 17 years he has been known to the miners as a singing man, for each day as he was lowered into the darkness and again at the end of the day's work his song could be heard.

Bruce West, a reporter for the Toronto Globe and Mail, says of Ruddick, "Talking to him it was impossible to imagine that he had suffered so much. There is always a temptation to attribute extra heroic qualities to people who have borne so much, but Mr. Ruddick appears to be a truly remarkable man. It is easy to understand how his strong spirit must have brought extra strength to the men who shared his peril."

The world rejoiced when Ruddick and his fellow miners were dramatically rescued, after being given up for dead. It is at times like these — when a catastrophe strikes and there are days of painful suspense and then, as in this case, a triumphant rescue — that the whole human race is drawn together and united with

Dodge Plant Workers Refuse To Pass Jobless Picket Line

DETROIT, Nov. 10—Workers scheduled for overtime Saturday at the Dodge plant in Hamtramck refused to cross a picket line set up by their fellow workers who had been laid off. As a result the factory did not operate. The demonstration was called to protest compulsory overtime for some while others are laid off completely.

The turnout of the unemployed members of Dodge Local 3, UAW, for the demonstration was impressive. The action was decided on the previous night by a meeting of about 250. Yet, with no means of communication aside from word-of-mouth, 400 showed up for the picket-line at 5:30 A.M. The turnout was even more significant in view of the widely circulated company threat to fire any worker, unemployed or employed, participating in such a demonstration.

SOLIDARITY

The handful who had entered the plant and were sent out by supervision were greeted with hoots and catcalls by those who refused to cross the line. No action could better demonstrate the class solidarity and basic human warmth between the 8,500 local members now back at work and the 9,500 still jobless after months despite seniority of as much as 12 years.

A delegation of the unem-

ployed, including Edith Fox, secretary of Dodge Local 3 Unemployed Committee, is slated to appear before a meeting tomorrow of Chrysler local union presidents at Solidarity House. The delegation favors establishing unemployed committees in all Chrysler locals to provide the basis for united action by all Dodge-Chrysler employees.

The problem of overtime for some in the teeth of unemployment for others is not confined to the Chrysler workers. Both Ford and General Motors announced this week that they would go on daily and Saturday overtime. Yet, according to state figures, 230,000, or 15% of the Detroit work force is jobless. This figure is understated, because it does not include the thousands who have exhausted their unemployment benefits.

The company preference for overtime rather than calling unemployed back is based on straight money saving. Those who would be called back would be certain to be laid off again and this would mean added Supplementary Unemployment Benefit costs for the corporations. The present setup also means a saving on unemployment compensation for them.

The jobless figures indicate that while such actions as the Dodge overtime demonstration are good, the fight against un-

employment must become broader in aim and scope. It is estimated that the Chrysler Corporation, which employed 140,000 nationally in 1955, is now at the 70,000 level and is unlikely to go above 90,000 even if the firm has a good year.

At Ford, there are now about 106,000 employed as compared to 134,000 at the start of the '58 models. GM is employing 25,000 less than last fall. Of the state's current total of 420,000 laid off, 150,000 are considered permanently jobless. The cause is generally recognized as a combination of speed-up, automation and a shrinking market for high-priced cars.

Delegates to the Ford Local 600 General Council meeting today presented a variety of proposals for action. These included a demand for a special UAW convention to act on the problem. Pressure on successful labor-endorsed Congressional candidates for legislation was also proposed. They would be asked to push laws providing for a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay as well as legislation banning compulsory overtime.

The need for action before the 1961 contract expiration was underscored by the report that the Dearborn Engine plant of the Ford River Rouge complex is about to start another layoff.

Worker's Bookshelf

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES, by Samuel Yellen. 398 p. Paper. \$1.95.

For those unacquainted with American labor history this is an excellent book to begin with. Union members should read it to learn how unionism was built in America, and socialists will find it not only a storehouse of information but also an invaluable tool.

THE IWW. The Great Anticipation, by James P. Cannon. 44 p. Pioneer Pocket Library No. 4. 25 cents.

A participant in its early struggles, Cannon says: "The founders of the IWW were undoubtedly the original inspirers and prime movers of the modern industrial unions in the mass production industries . . . The CIO movement at its present stage of development is only a small down payment on the demands presented to the future by the pioneers who assembled at the 1905 Convention to start the IWW on its way."

OUT OF THE DEPTHS, by Barron Z. Beshaar. 372 p. Cloth. \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

An absorbing and detailed account of the events leading up to the Ludlow Massacre which shocked the world before World War I. The class struggle in its most naked form is shown here as is the relationship of the Rockefellers to their coal miners employees in Colorado.

NEGROES ON THE MARCH, by Daniel Guerin. 192 p. Cloth \$2.00. Paper \$1.50.

Based on years of research and first-hand observation of the American scene and translated from the French edition, this book has been revised by the author to cover recent events. The connection between the Negro struggle for equality and the workers' struggle for a better life is clearly shown.

EUGENE V. DEBS, The Socialist Movement of His Time—Its Meaning for Today, by James P. Cannon. 40 p. Pioneer Pocket Library No. 5. 25 cents.

A centennial tribute to an outstanding and beloved American figure in whom was combined the pioneering efforts to build both the union and socialist movements in the United States. Cannon appraises his contributions and examines Debs' concept of the "all-inclusive" socialist party.

IF AMERICA SHOULD GO COMMUNIST, by Leon Trotsky. 22 p. Pioneer Pocket Library No. 7. 25 cents.

Capitalism vs. socialism has been heatedly debated ever since the Soviet Union came into existence. In this article Trotsky raises the major points of difference, as well as similarity, between the coming American revolution and its Russian predecessor of October 1917. It was originally published by Liberty Magazine in 1935.

AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM, by James P. Cannon. 79 p. 35 cents.

In an informal way, Cannon discusses Eisenhower, capitalist and socialist prospects in America, and closes with an inspiring picture of "What Socialist America Will Look Like."

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... How Scab Law Was Swamped in Ohio

N. Carolina Racists Jail Boys—8, 9

Racism can reduce human beings to the level of beasts. This fact emerges with stark clarity out of the ugly story from Monroe, North Carolina. The Nov. 10 New York Post reported that two Negro children in that town—Hanover Thompson, 9, and Fuzzy Simpson, 8—have been given indeterminate sentences in a reformatory on charges of "molesting a white female." The basis of the charge was that a small white playmate had kissed one of the boys.

Robert Williams, head of the Monroe NAACP, told the Post that the two youngsters were taken into custody by six carloads of cops "after the little girl's father had gone there with a shotgun and threatened to kill them and their parents."

The boys were held in jail for six days without charges and then sentenced to the reformatory after a hearing called on ten-minute's notice in which the boys and their mothers were without counsel. Needless to say, there is no report of any action taken against the white "man" and his friends who threatened the two children and their parents and who terrorized the town's entire Negro community.

As if to underscore the nature of racist justice, in the same court house where the boys were sentenced, a white man was freed on low bail Nov. 10 after beating a pregnant Negro woman almost unconscious in an attempt to rape her. The judge is considering a motion to free him permanently, and according to his statement to the Post, will probably do so.

The unregenerate Plain Dealer in its Nov. 5 editorial, "The Landslide," interpreted the defeat of RTW as one of the "reaults" of the "Democratic landslide." The editors reassured their confidence that "compul-

(Continued from Page 1)
sive membership in labor unions will be outlawed in Ohio." But they admitted that "it is evident from yesterday's ballot that if this issue is to succeed, the initiative for it will have to come from the workers themselves, rather than from business organizations which have been hostile to labor unions in the past."

ZOWIE! IS RIGHT

The result of labor's genuinely "grass-roots" campaign was, as Disantis put it, that the "margin by which RTW was defeated was totally unexpected by labor union officials." Reactions to the workers' defeat of RTW varied from right to left.

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sive membership in labor unions will be outlawed in Ohio." But they admitted that "it is evident from yesterday's ballot that if this issue is to succeed, the initiative for it will have to come from the workers themselves, rather than from business organizations which have been hostile to labor unions in the past."

Scabs make no distinction between men and women when crashing a picket line. Here Mrs. Dottie Wilson is being carried from the strike scene after being knocked down by a strikebreaker's car at the Long Island plant of Republic Aviation Corp. in March, 1958.

for their union conditions to a defeat for unions."

(3) Defeat by residential suburbs showed that they "feel there is a certain way of life in organization of labor unions as they have developed—and they didn't want that way changed."

But the News concluded with the hope that "the landslide result of this first Ohio election on such an issue will not tempt leaders of organized labor to foolishness or arrogance in future behavior."

This expression of fear of the power demonstrated by the workers was also expressed by the Cleveland Press, which had opposed Issue No. 2. This typical "liberal friend of labor" (in the worst sense), editorialized:

FORGIVE AND FORGET

"The only risk in this overwhelming result is that a few labor leaders may find in it an excuse for a much tougher approach."

Response of the class-collaborationist old-line labor leadership was a statement by Executive Secretary William Finegan of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor urging "all of the affiliates to put aside any animosity engendered during the recent campaign and bend every effort toward resuming normal industrial relations."

Trying to go back to business unionism as usual, he said that the campaign of "vilification of labor and its leadership" came from a small portion of management and that resentments should not be permitted to reflect against individuals or companies with which unions have co-operated in the past.

In a joint statement with President Patrick J. O'Malley of the Cleveland AFL-CIO, he said: "We hope this will end the battle. We hope the bitterness will die quickly, and that organized labor may once again devote itself to the welfare of its members and the best interests of the entire state."

PROJECT LABOR PARTY

But on Nov. 9 a panel of three trade unionists discussed their views of the November election at a meeting of the Cleveland Forum for Political Education. The Plain Dealer reported:

"United Organized Labor of Ohio, created to fight the 'right-to-work' law, could grow into a labor party. It was suggested yesterday at a tri-state panel meeting in Unitarian Hall . . ."

SECOND JOBS

Over 73% of the teachers in Los Angeles are working after school to make ends meet, according to a survey by Teachers Local 1021. The kind of work ranged from ditch digging for men, to night teaching, sales and service. Only 8% said they would do the extra work if their salaries were adequate. Take-home pay for 25% of the teachers was \$3660 a year, while most took home \$4582.

... Labor In Youngstown

(Continued from Page 1) with "Vote No" buttons and stickers.

FARMERS DIVIDED

In the week before the election, union activists, who had been somewhat pessimistic, sensed the swing behind the labor movement. One veteran union political announced the week before the election that workers were as united on this issue as it would ever be possible to expect and forecast a margin of victory of half a million. Other observers reported the farmers in Central and Western Ohio badly split on the issue. The division was along economic lines and reflected the growing number of wage workers among farm families.

As the first returns came in from a few industrial cities, it became certain that the question was simply one of how big the majority vote was going to be against the "Right-to-Work" measure. Workers districts all over the city ran 3 to 1 and 4 to 1, and some predominantly Negro wards gave such figures as 4,700 to 600 Yes.

Although the state-wide ratio was 2 to 1, the press in its first reports tried to scale down the margin of the workers' victory and warned the unions that they had no mandate to start throwing their weight around.

Inside the steel mills, there was a strangely subdued bunch of foremen and superintendents on Wednesday. The election of an almost solid national and state Democratic ticket seemed almost incidental and anti-climactic.

There was a feeling of solid satisfaction among the workers plus the desire to push the Democrats for some economic action — first and foremost the release of the SUB funds to the unemployed. This push will continue and may force the union leadership to make demands on the Democrats which the latter cannot grant. Rather than solidifying the Labor-Democratic Party alliance, the result of the vote may lead to a growing rupture.

One question was settled decisively. The ability of the labor movement to take political leadership and swing the urban middle class and the farmers behind it was convincingly demonstrated. This is the hope of the future.

'Should Young Mothers Work?'

By Joyce Cowley

By Joyce Cowley

Woman's "God-appointed sphere," in the home or on the assembly line, is usually determined by the available labor supply. During a labor shortage, as in the last war and all previous wars, it was her patriotic duty to work in a factory even if no nurseries were provided and the kids wandered the streets. When post-war layoffs came, suddenly the same women were accused of denying their feminine role, driving men out of jobs, neglecting their children, creating juvenile delinquency and emasculating American men. Since senators, journalists, police officials and ministers have little real influence on what women do, women have continued to work in ever greater numbers. Wars accelerated but did not initiate a trend which began about 1890. Today, there are 22 million women in the labor force working on any given day. This means there are about 29 million women who work in the course of a year. More than half are married, seven million are mothers.

SHOULD THEY WORK?

This may explain why propagandists for home and hearth (to the exclusion of other interests) are beating a slow retreat. For example, a symposium in the current Ladies Home Journal asks: "SHOULD YOUNG MOTHERS WORK?" Apparently older mothers now have the right to decide for themselves. A young mother, facing pails of diapers, a sink full of dishes, floors to mop and other miscellaneous tasks, may consider the question academic. But what it really means is: Should young mothers work outside of the home for wages. This in itself is an interesting comment on the value our society accords paid and unpaid labor.

PREJUDICE

As in most discussions about working women, the so-called authorities are hampered by preconceived ideas and prejudices. For instance, there is a general assumption that this is something new, that until quite recently women did not work. But women have always worked and men have rarely raised any objections. Pioneer women were never criticized for spinning and weaving, making butter or soap. Heavy farm labor, even an occasional fight with the Indians, was not considered inconsistent with their feminine role. They were not accused of

neglecting their children, although in view of the back-breaking character of woman's work and the size of families, the children probably did not get a great deal of personal attention.

ABOUT 85% OF EARLY FACTORY WORKERS

Women who have worked before marriage — the women who have been educated so that the masculine impulse has been developed — these are the women whose masculine side makes them restless and bored in their male labor.

DR. BILLY GRAHAM

Dr. Billy Graham: "God instituted the marriage relationship and the family relationship before the school and before the government and before any other institution."

SENATOR LAUSCHE

Senator Lausche: "A woman should be proud to say, 'I am a housewife. I am the backbone of America.'"

BUT THE MOTHERS ARE CONCERNED WITH DAY-TO-DAY PROBLEMS

Mrs. Ernest Lee: "If I didn't work to pay the rent, we would have to live in one of these overcrowded cramped places where there are gangs and no safe place for the kids to play."

DR. DORIS BARTUSKA

Dr. Doris Bartuska, specialist in cancer research and mother of four: "But my problem — the problem of the professionally trained woman — can't be answered so simply. There has been a great deal of investment in my training as a doctor, my family has put a lot in, teachers have made a lot of effort, people are counting on me —"

MRS. ROY DAVIS

Mrs. Roy Davis: "If I didn't work, my husband would have to have two jobs. Isn't a father-at-home important too?"

DR. SCOTT MAXWELL

Dr. Scott Maxwell, thinks that a woman who becomes a doctor or lawyer is "hardly feminine at all" and such women lose "a feminine oneness with the depths of life" and that "love is what is needed most and it is what women have to give to the world." Men apparently have no capacity for love and women somehow lose it if they study medicine and take care of the sick.